2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

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Upon the day set for the marriage ceremony, usually only a few days after the proposal, the parents of the girl took her to the home of the boy. They were accompanied by relatives, friends and either the chief or subchief. They arrived late in the day for the ceremony was always held in the evening. The bride and groom were called together and sat near the chief, who officiated. He first made certain that the parents were agreeable to the marriage. He than addressed the pair. He admonished them to realize the seriousness of the contract they were becoming parties to, to understand that they were expected not to separate in a short time, to treat their parents-in-law with consideration and take care never to offend them, and at all times to provide for each other and care for the wants of each other. When the chief had finished he gave the others in the gathering an opportunity to speak. The old men present gave advice of much the same nature as that proffered by the chief. During the procedure the bride and groom said nothing to each other. An informal feast provided by the groom's parents followed. The visitors then left. No presents were given at this time. The girl, however, was presented with new clothing by her husband's parents. Sometimes the boy, too, was given new clothing by his mother.

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Although residence was definitely patrilocal it is uncertain where the newly married couple stayed during the first few days after the ceremony. According to John Tom the groom accompanied the bride and her family to their home and remained there for a short time before establishing permanent residence at the house of his parents.[14] But Burke stated that from the beginning the couple remained at the husband's home. It may be that both customs existed, but neither informant provided for an alternative. Perhaps the custom of residing for a short time with the girl's parents was given up in the more recent times known by Burke. He said that any prolonged matrilocal residence would have been considered disgraceful. A woman, however, was allowed to visit her own family whenever she desired unless relations between the families were strained.

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To return to the marriage: the ceremonial procedure was not completed with the rite of the first evening, but the bride and groom no longer played a part. From the first night they stayed together. On that occasion they remained in the presence of the others, but for several days subsequently they stayed by themselves for the most of the time. They were not expected to wait for a period of time (as were the Thompson) before intercourse. Within two or three days after the first ceremony, often on the following day, the groom's parents took the promised gifts to the bride's mother and father. These consisted always of food—camas, dried salmon and other staples—and sometimes of other goods as well, such as baskets, buckskins, canoes and horses. These presents were called sta'lam. The amount of presents given was determined by the wealth of the donors. Sometimes relatives assisted in supplying goods. A great feast was provided by the recipients of the gifts, but they did not use the food they had received in its preparation. The presents were not kept in their entirety by the girl's parents, but

[14] Cf. the Wishram practice (Spier, *Wishram Ethnography*, page 219).

855 sometimes slept when the village was very
857 crowded with visitors. They played games such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires or children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to
861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

•867 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable,
[538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.

7 On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
8 See also Social Organization.
9 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.